1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

1: Burrows--189 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Rites of passage. There are only two of these: taurang, to celebrate a girl's first menstruation, in which she is bedecked in finery while a song is sung over her, then leads a parade from her maternal homestead to that of her father; and the funeral, which includes all-night wailing and singing of laments (arūerū), followed by sea-burial."

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.' Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 304 Ifalik

"Specialization on one sex in initiation or coming-of-age rites is not uncommon. But the sex chosen, even in islands relatively close to Ifalik geographically and culturally, is often the male. The writer thinks first of western Polynesia because of previous field work. Initiation rites for young men there cluster about one of the operations loosely called circumcision, or about tattooing, which may itself amount to a rite of passage. But for Ifalik I have no evidence of surgery on the male genitals. Sarfert's informants explicitly denied the existence of any such practise. Tattooing, to be sure, is elaborate, and its origin is attributed to the god Wolfat. (Since this is an art form, a fuller account of it belongs in the forthcoming study of native arts.) But it is optional, and so far as known has always been so. Robertson states explicitly that in the third quarter of the 19th century not all the men were tattooed, and that the practise was in no way compulsory. While rites of passage need not be universally observed, tattooing here is no more than a form of decoration whose use is dictated by individual taste."

4: Krämer--107 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 857, 881 Lamotrek

No initiation ceremonies are held.

Young girls early go out to gather fire-wood and they also take care of the hearth, cook, etc. When they are ten years old they are sent into the taro fields. For the sake of solemnity at the time of puberty, gabuitiu, a little banquet is held and taro, bananas, etc. are served; the men occasionally contribute young coconuts, fish and pigs. For three or four days the girl is bathed three or four times daily and is rubbed with the yellow turmeric color substance known as rong. The women at that time often perform dances....

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841, 881 Lamotrek

The women stay in the menstrual hut im a fatiu for four days. No ceremonies are involved in the first menses nor the attainment of puberty (see Pollap).

28: Spiro--119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

28: Spiro--120-121
116, 881, 841, 343, 784

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-3
Ifalik

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--121 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881 Ifalik

"There is no ceremony marking the puberty of the boy. The distinction between a zari-man and a tari-man is not formally designated, and is a gradual, flexible difference, rather than an abrupt one."

28: Spiro--122 [2]
116, 881, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

Unlike the girl's first menstruation, which is announced publically, the boy's first nocturnal emission is unannounced. He reveals it to no one lest he be shamed, for people would poke fun at him."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."